174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

[30] [53] [17]

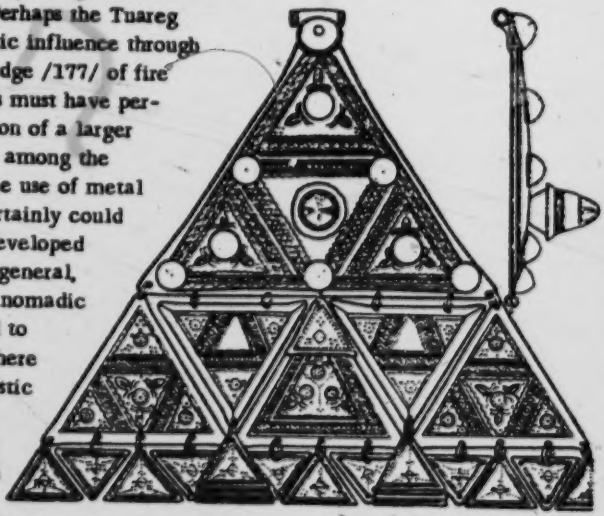

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [27] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

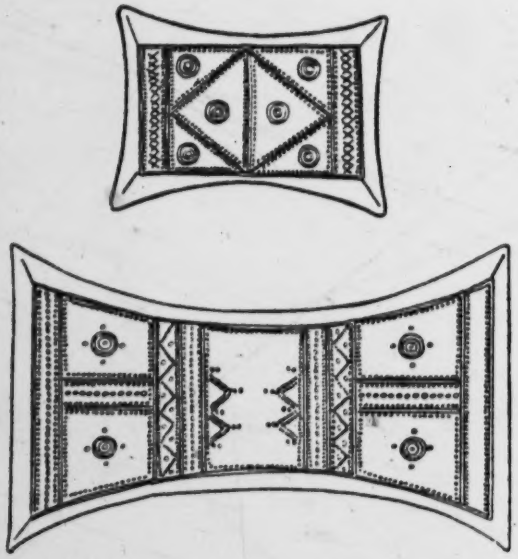

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

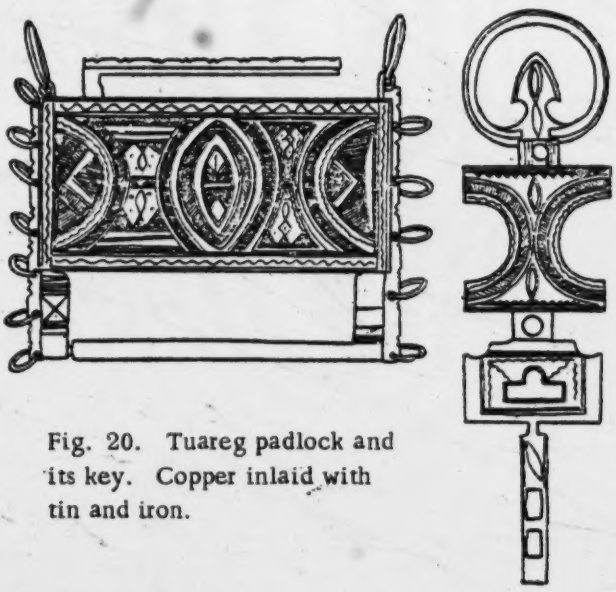

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow- [184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ahgouh-en-Tehlé. It appears that the Kel Ahnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531 212] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

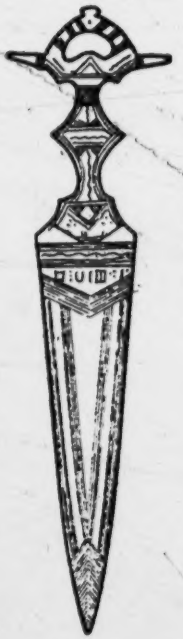

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.
1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

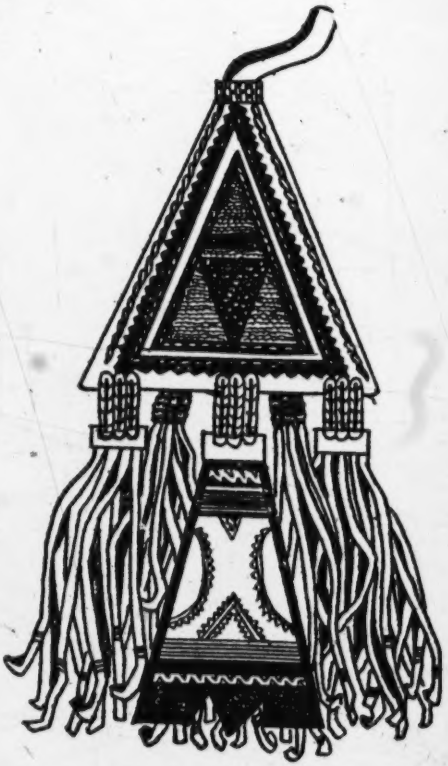

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [208 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand.

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

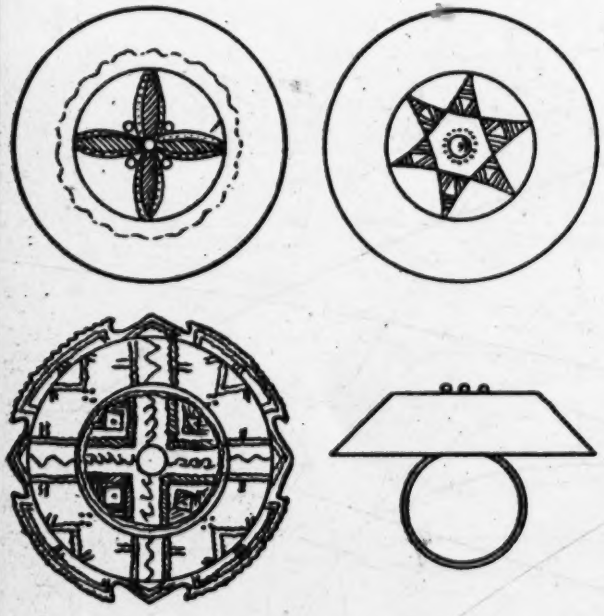

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women.

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter.

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

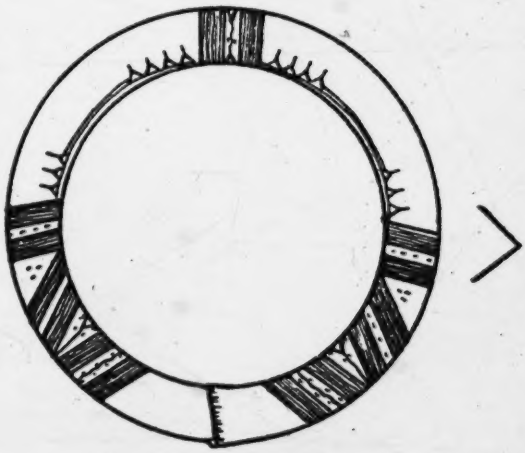

Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

One of their most curious customs is that women from the high nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more remarkable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa.

326 [301] /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more commonly used articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 326 411 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 [172] Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

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Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

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Can we speak of art among the Iha̋ggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

[415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

177 517

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

517 [178 172]

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

114 175 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians. [531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the [193 194] Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 197 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

[173 /304/ We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
53[] in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

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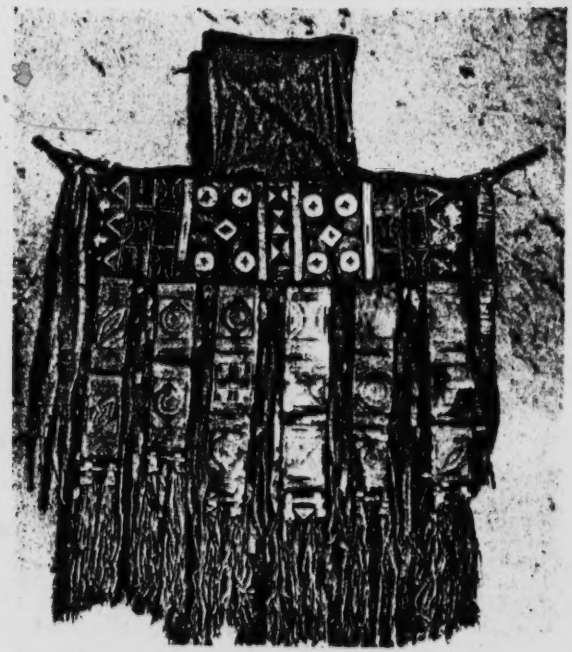
1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the [241] tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands [171] enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

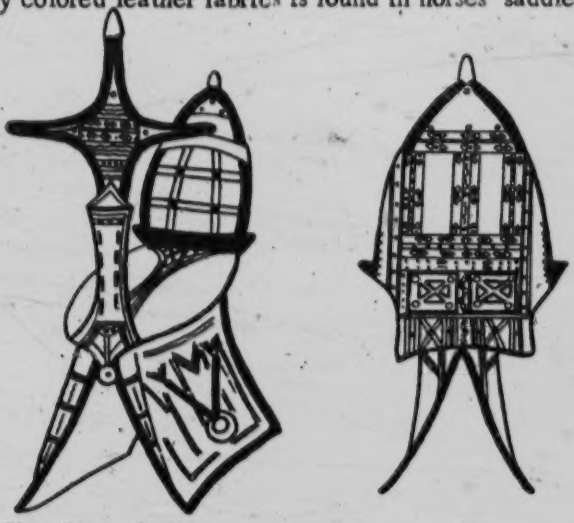


Fig. 54.. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack. 2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at 326 Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 492 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
492 special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the
[565] arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the
[312] tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The 184
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 411
(tacouba), which is the 565
weapon par excellence
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531] shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 251] Hoggar
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]

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Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

342 /87 cont./ skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves,
281 then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these operations, the red tint is added in the following way: "tamadjouhit," a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen," hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel
342 effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber," a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
• [531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1,000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont./ leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
●531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 21a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aghan-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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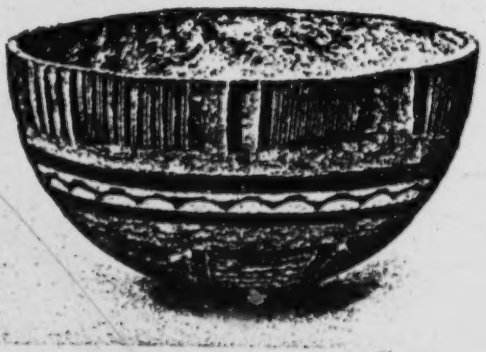

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *atekkas* (*we n akh*) or *atekkas* (*we n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikembar*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather rein (*tayant*, or *trézem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*tigemt*, or *tigemt*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberog*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikezkezen*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.
262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

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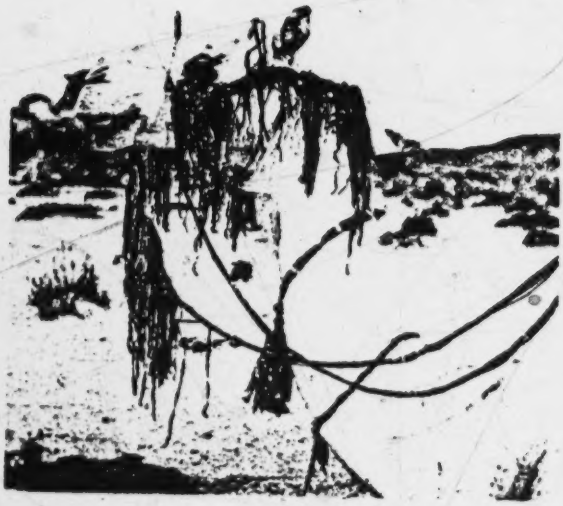

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*tahawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring (*tiĝemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tiĝemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Blacksmiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

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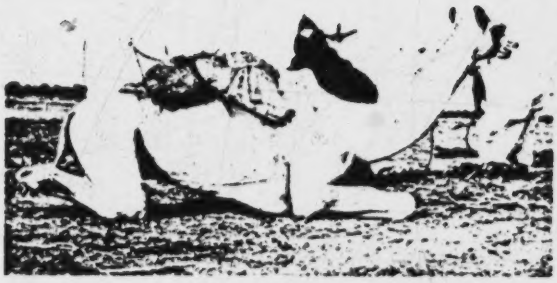

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

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leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{3}{1}^{A}$ 42; D $\frac{3}{1}^{A}$ 25).

Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aġula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥidâğe*, and called *élaki* by the Northern [624] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55). [284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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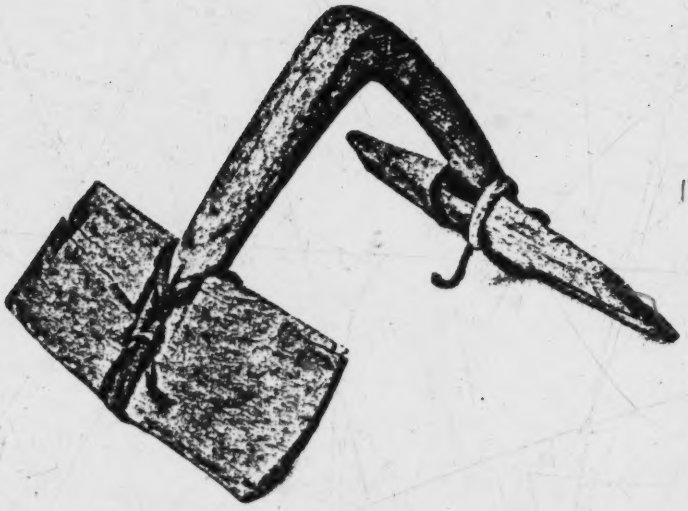

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 [171] by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[564] [432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 61. Riding saddle of *tamzak* type (*térik*). Manufactured in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.77 m high, 0.31 m broad. (N.M. G. 6635).

A less elegant type of riding saddle known as *tahyast* (Ahaggar) or *ahyas* (Ayr) is used rather frequently among the Northern Tuareg and occasionally in Ayr. The wooden structure of this saddle (Fig. 63) does not differ much from that of the cruciformed *térik*-type. It is lighter and less solid, and the saddle is not much esteemed among the Tuareg who use it because it is cheaper. It is manufactured

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bertekes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
237 structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
113 In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

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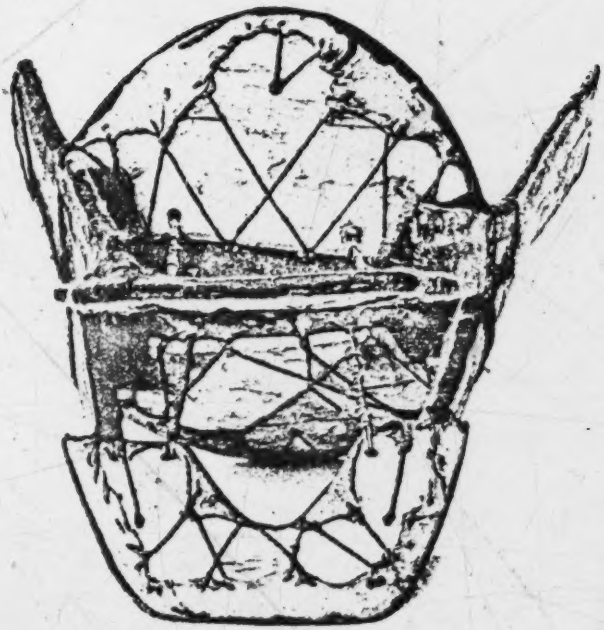

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

huge saddle bag known as *ejjebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[Text continues on p. 88]

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saddle known as *tebeyat* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *ərəgen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireɣenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

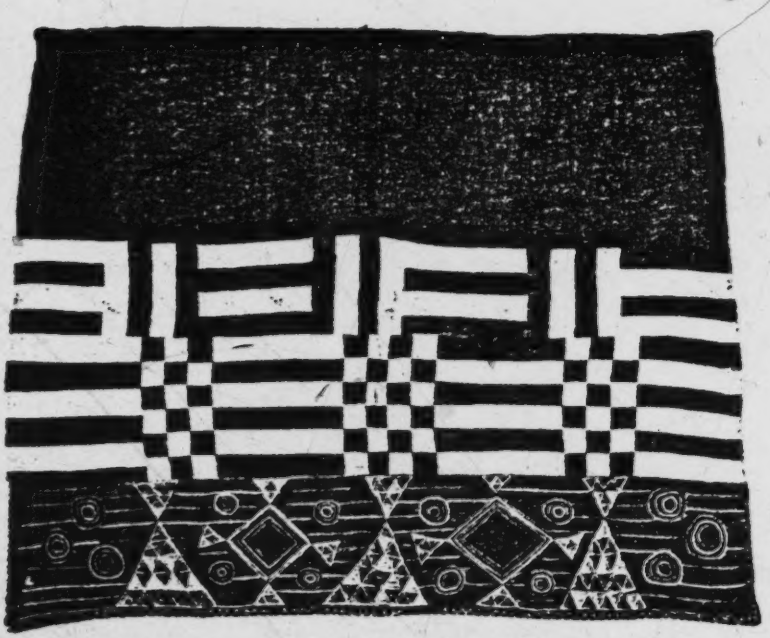

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesləḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aɣuh-en-irhlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

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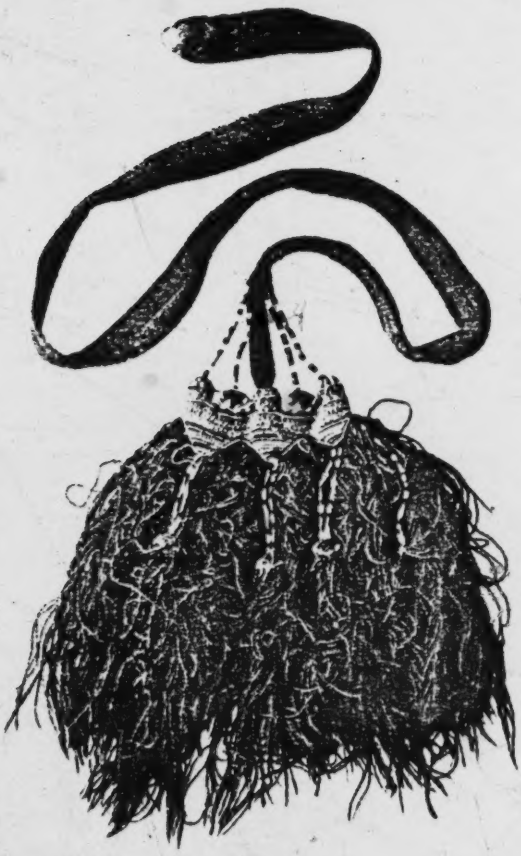

Fig. 69. Camel girth (*ahayif*) made of goat's hair and provided with a large tassel of the same material. Ahaggar, *Kel Rezzi*. Dimension: 3.00 m long. (N.M. G. 5826).

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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraren* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *eljebira* (*eljebiren*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70×0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*ebaun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— 233 192
(1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

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Fig. 73 a–b. a. Camel rein (*trézem*) plaited of leather (goat skin) and ornamented with fringes of the same material. Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 2.70 m long. (N.M. G. 6653).

b. Neck collar (*ilgem*) which serves as an ornament of riding camels. Made of leather (goat skin). Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 0.43 m. (N.M. G. 6654).

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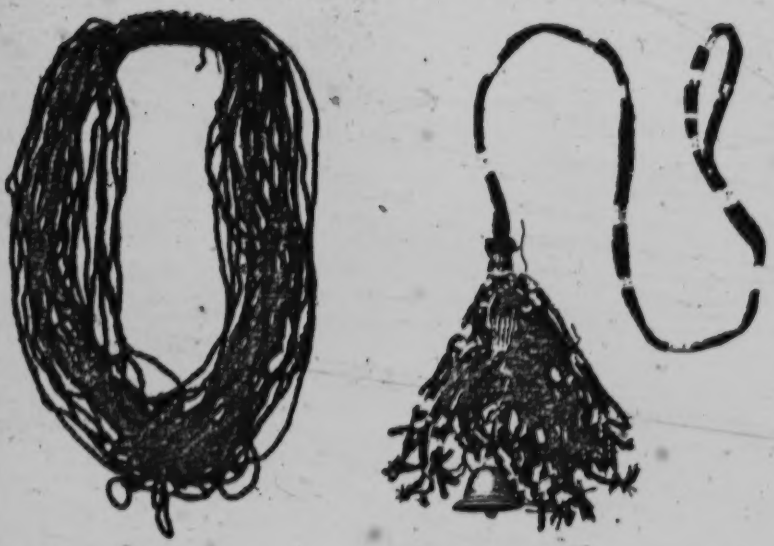

Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*aneyna*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

the-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding.

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The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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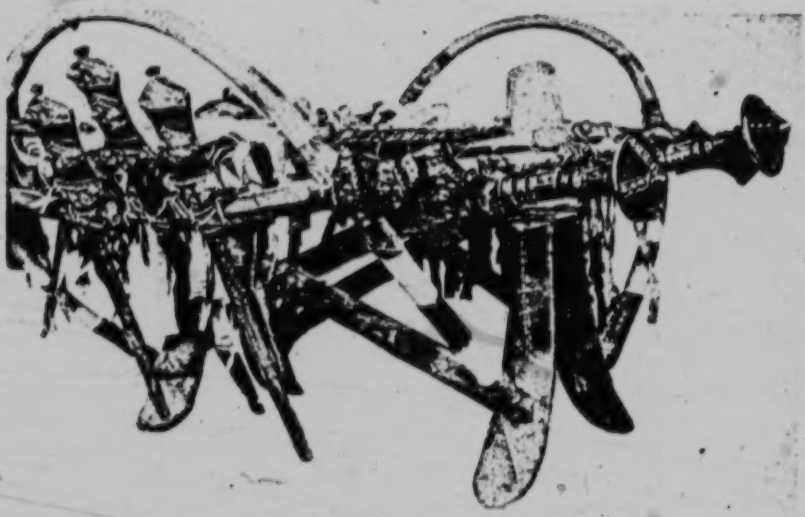

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

233 192 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeg* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaɣ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegger* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *ligen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerɣaf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraɣ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaɣ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agurer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*éseg*, pl. *éstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinak* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajwilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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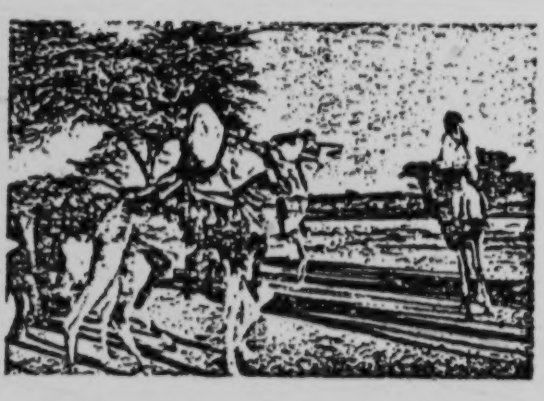

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afaqay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyoudiren*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boys' games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ilufan* (*ilegan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In the ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on each

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*issegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aɣiwir*, *tánwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téɣirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aynezzis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asagen*, *aroɣha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*ɣrir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for

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up with small stripe of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word *elmefsif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *obatul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzerom* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living

Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *imawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs.

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tawalat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded

Fig. 182. Tuareg woman turning a hand-mill (*tanir*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe.

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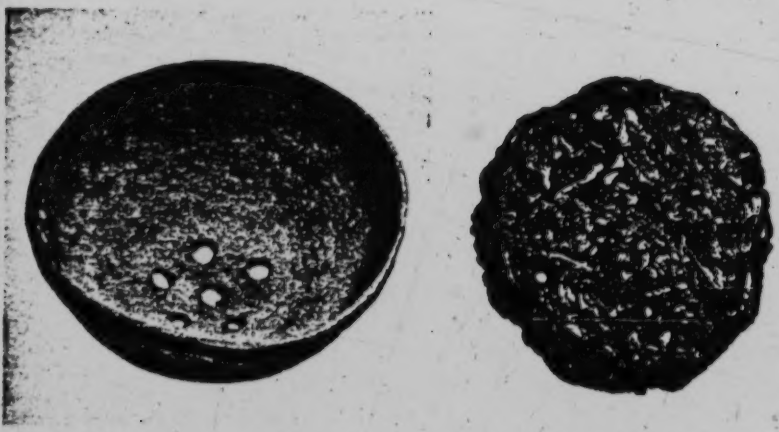

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*derefu*, or *derabe*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

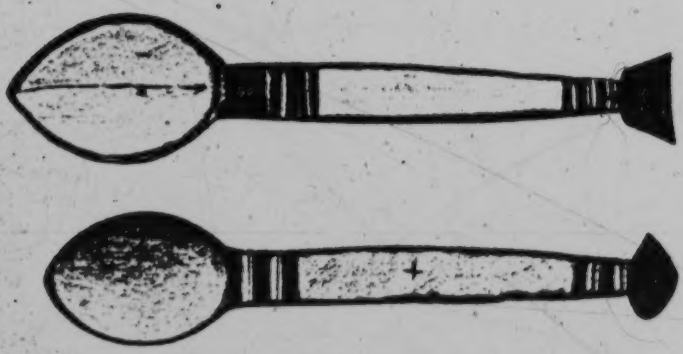

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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukait*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taberak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tekkit* and the *Dag Rali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayehara* (Ahaggar) or *ayelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamalat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamalat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assay*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *timekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[311] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

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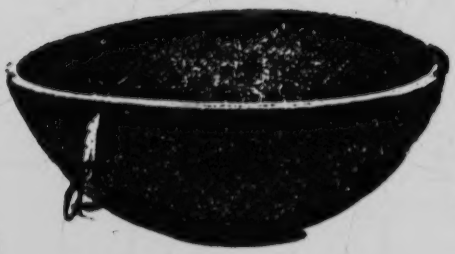

Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*tayehar*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

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Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*elkadé*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *tayla* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Damergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

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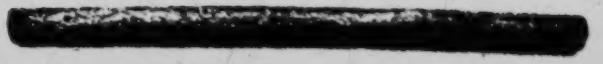

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amejwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

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[331] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

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[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkher*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarrata* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned 323 *Iǧdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language 323 which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably a cooking pot (*érir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*érir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*tfkanawt*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

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824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*)
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462 and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhlit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ǧat* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanṛasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] [286] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḍuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing. *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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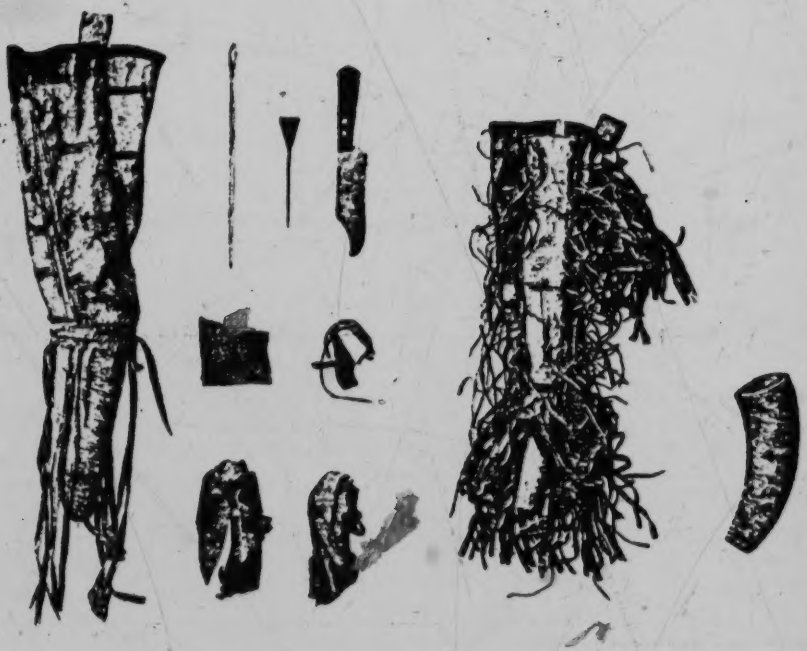

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tisteni*).
d. Leather knife (*telmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzeman*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of I-n-dalag. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Harratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

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is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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fall to the ground where they are collected. They are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149).

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade.

Fig. 221 a–c. Skin bags.
a. Bag of *tichchiwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).
b. Bag known as *akelleq*. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).
c. Bag of *tichchiwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg at Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringe. (N.M. G. 5219).

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 4/3 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tasubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread [283] (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar 4/3 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelbod*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *alegugut* (pl. *aleguguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

4/3 [32] [75] 237 [30] used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *éweki*) made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Ajjer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

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Fig. 226. Skin bag of the type provided with a plaited boot for bottom and known as *aleguegui* or *eggebankab*. The specimen is a new one heavily ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.312 m high – without the fringes. (N.M. G. 5243).

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237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of rum's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafiuket* and *tamezezzuft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[424] (5) *errummen*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[631] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

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Fig. 227. Ornamented leather bag. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60×0.38 m. (N.M. G. 1.109).

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit*, and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *farolu wa n taka* and serves for the conservation of *taka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

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c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-n-tehid* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing
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[174] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegheyt*,

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Fig. 233. Tuareg cotton shirt (*tekamist*) of Sudanese indigo cotton. Ahaggar, Oluñen's collection. Dimensions: 1.25 m long, 2.53 m wide. (N.M. G. 1.4).

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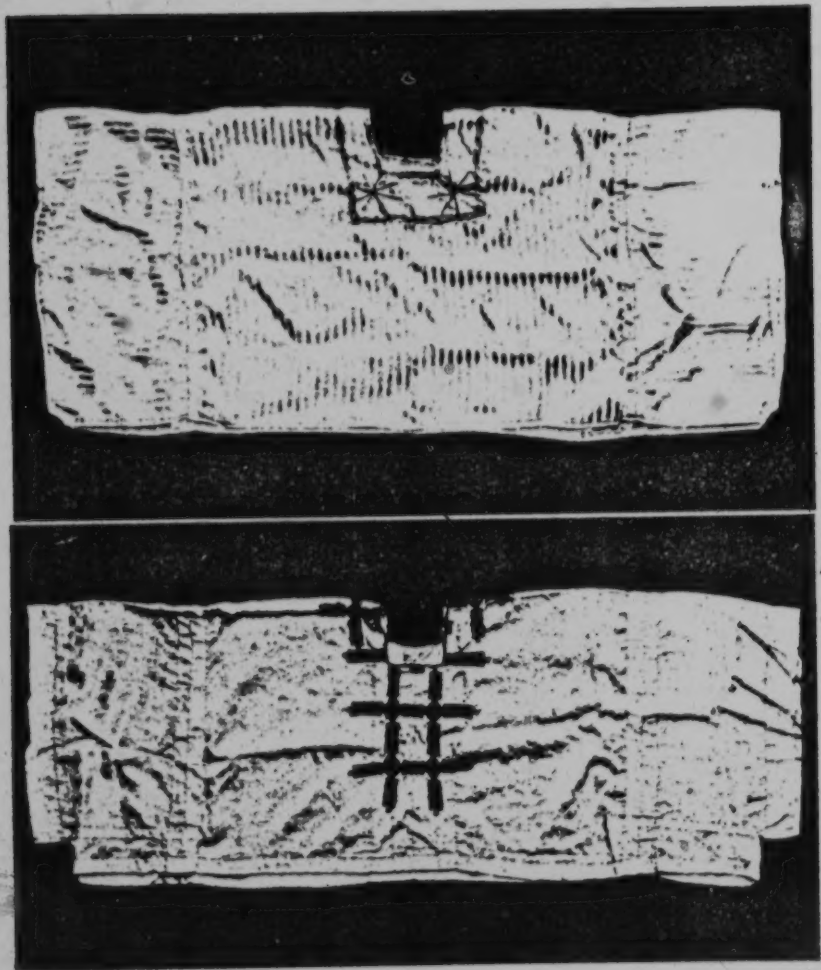

[531]

Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.
a. The shirt (*afiak*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).
b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *liga* or *tagua* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Agadez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

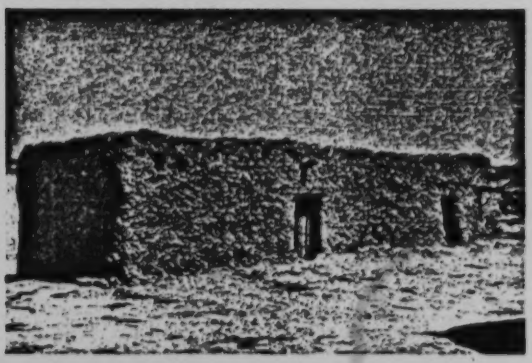

Fig. 246. House (*tayajawt*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Aweleras.

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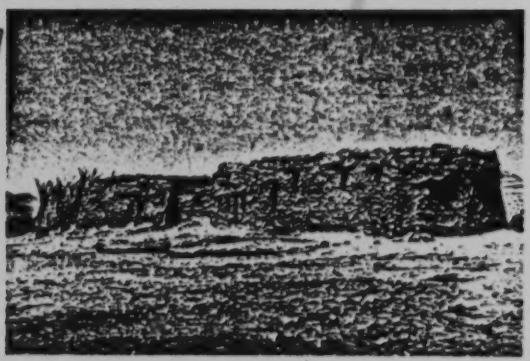

Fig. 247. House (*tayajawt*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Aweleras.

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lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwi*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *izgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewi*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped structure:— *twerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamat*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:—

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwillemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwillemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aesthetic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ihen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

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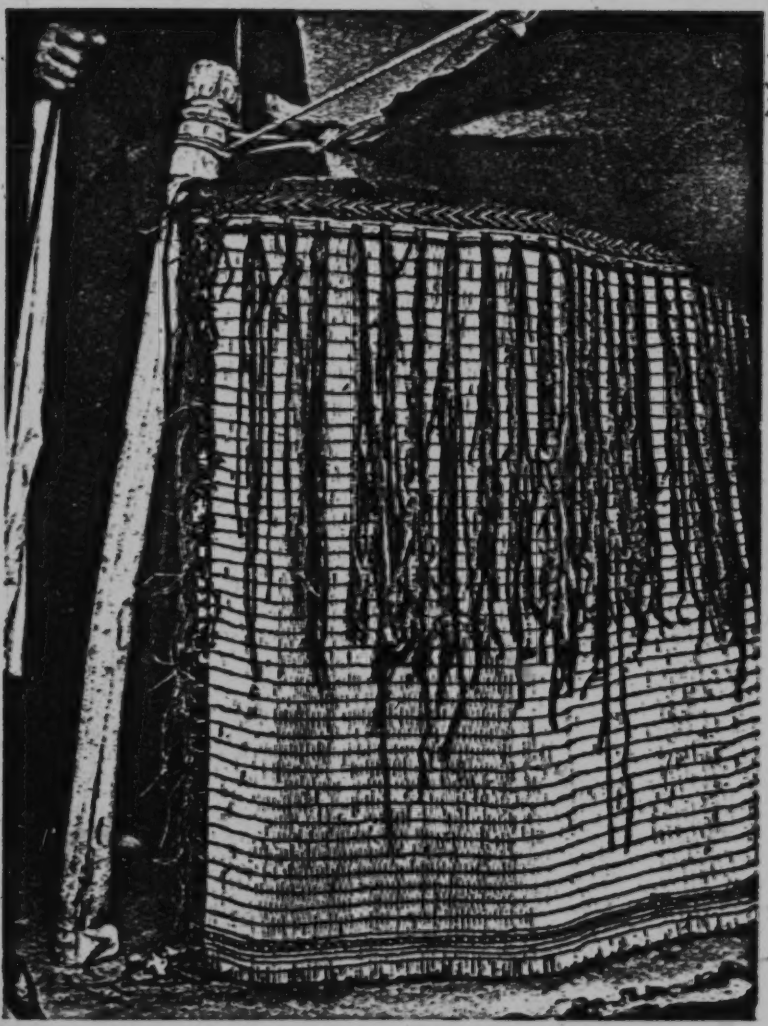

Fig. 268. Mat of *afeye* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Gluckert's collection from Aheggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 0,87×0,85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

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*342 ment to the two pairs of outer sticks which are about 1.20 m high. The distance between the sticks which form a pair, is 0.60–0.70 m. The sheet of skin measures 5.00 by 6.00 m and consists of eight *tarda*. It is placed over the structure and fastened to 28 poles. The tent is surrounded by a 1.00 m high *afeẓu* mat leaning against vertical sticks fixed in the ground under the sheet.

These are the ordinary types of skin tents provided with central T-shaped posts. In literature there seems to be some confusion as to the proper terms to be used for a T-shaped post of the type described. Most authors use the word *tamankayt* for the post, the words *asellum* (Ahaggar) or *asulan* (*Iwillemmeden*, Ayr) for the short cross-bar which rests upon its top. (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 38; 1955, p. 254 ff.; Balout 1959, pl. XXX; Nicolas 1950a, p. 154, pl. VIII). The word *asellum* (or *asulan*) may be correctly used to designate the short cross-bar resting upon the central post; its proper meaning according to Foucauld is "a board regardless of its dimensions" (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1831), but the word *tamankayt* does not refer to the central post. Foucauld uses this word not for the post, but for the post together with its cross-bar (Foucauld 1951–52, I, 247 f., III, p. 1213). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have invariably explained to me that speaking correctly the word *tamankayt* refers to the short horizontal cross-bar alone, while the post is known as *aget* like all other upright posts. It might perhaps be tempting to connect the word *tamankayt* with the verb *enki* which according to Foucauld has the meaning "to perform the movements of the sexual act" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1373). For it is characteristic of the *tamankayt* system that the central post is placed in a hollow carved at the middle of its cross-bar (cf. Fig. 282).

The cross-bars of *tamankayt* type vary in size and form. Several pieces are found in museums or are described in literature. The following types can be mentioned:—

From Ahaggar:—

(1) A flat and slightly curved piece of wood which has a thickening at the middle into which a hollow to support the central post is carved. On both sides of the hollow there is geometrical ornamentation. The flat cross-bar has no holes for the attachment of cords (Musée de l'homme, no. 34.196.1; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (1) p. 39, 117, photograph 15 p. 33). [531]

(2) A slightly curved cross-bar of oval shape provided with a square hollow to support the central post (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, no. 48.2.173).

(3) A flat and slightly curved cross-bar with a thickening at the middle in which is carved a round hollow to support the central post. The piece is 0.51 m long, about 0.17 m broad, and only about 0.01 m thick at both sides of the hollow. The inner side has geometrical ornamentation, and there is one little round hole for cord-attachment at each end (Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Alger, No. D.2.; cf. Balout 1959, pl. XXX). [531]

(4) A flat and comparatively long cross-bar about 0.87 m long and 0.08 m broad with a square hollow to support the central post, and four round holes (one close to the four corners of the rectangular piece of wood) for cord-attachment. This cross-bar is conserved in the Ethnographical Col-

[Text continues on p. 382]

Fig. 282. The central T-shaped post of the skin tent belonging to Olufsen's collection in the National Museum. Dimension of the cross-bar: 0.87×0.08 m. The tent is of B.2.g.3 type. (N.M. G. 1-1).

[cf. p. 381]

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*342 lection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. It belongs to the tent referred to under B.2.g.5 (p. 378 f.) (National Museum, G.I.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 140) (cf. Fig. 282).

From Ayr:—

(5) A rather curved and heavy cross-bar 0.51 m long, and 0.12 m broad. At its middle there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four rectangular holes at the corners for cord-attachment. This cross-bar comes from the *Kel Takriza* tribe which belongs to the *Inesleman* class (Musée de l'homme, No. 41.19.333; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 118, photograph 50 p. 81).

From the Kel Dennek:—

(6) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar having geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. At the middle of this there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post, and four round holes for cord attachment at the corners. It is 0.55 m long, and bears geometrical ornamentation on the inner side (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIa p. 155).

(7) A slightly curved cross-bar with a square hollow at the middle to support the central post. The inner side has geometrical decoration, and there are four triangular holes for cord-attachment. It is 0.35 m long (Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIb p. 155).

(8) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar with geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. It is 0.61 m long, 0.15 m wide, and 0.02 m thick. It has a funnel-shaped thickening of 0.08 m with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes at the corners of the cross-bar for cord-attachment. The cross-bar is in the IFAN Museum at Niamey and belongs to the tent described under B.2.g.6.

From the Kel Ataram:—

(9) A slightly curved cross-bar with a funnel-shaped thickening in which is carved a hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes for cord-attachment (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, No. 48.6.18).

It appears from the description of these specimens that the cross-bar of T-shaped posts are more or less curved and comparatively thin except at the middle where a hollow is carved for the post. The bulk of the cross-bars mentioned have holes for cord-attachment, and this seems to hold for all cross-bars used in Southern Tuareg groups. In Ahaggar cord-attachment is not always employed, but it is said to be extremely useful, as the tent may collapse owing to the very heavy winds so characteristic of desert climate. Thus it may seem as if the main function of the cords fastened to the cross-bar of the T-shaped post is to keep the latter upright.

[322 531] I believe that cross-bars, and particularly those that are richly ornamented, are manufactured by blacksmiths and not by pastoral Tuareg, though they may perhaps also be made by noble women who among the Northern Tuareg are skilled in wood-work. In fact, it is claimed by Tuareg of the north that skin tents with T-shaped posts are the traditional type of dwelling of noble Tuareg and Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe, which latter is said to descend partly from noble Tuareg (matrilineally) and from Arabs (patrilineally). The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar say that T-shaped tents are not traditional to them. They use tents of B.2.f. type with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bar, and this type seems to have supplanted skin tents of arch construction. It may happen that vassal Tuareg

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[97 cont.]
the Sudan. The only place in Africa south of the Sudan where any orientation toward a display side is sometimes found is Benin. Figure 4 shows a ring made of bronze (Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. 64,768), which is done in a "lost form" and stems from Benin. The display center is clearly indicated by [98] a horizontal double loop and two boat-shaped, very prominent forms set crosswise. Among the Jaunde [Yaunde] in the Cameroons we likewise find rings which have a certain resemblance in their construction to the two arm-circlets of the Wolof.

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Figure 5 (Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. No. 88,037) is made of brass, twisted, open, the ends terminating in multi-faceted cubes -- incidentally, resembling the clasp-nail of our foot-ring. If we compare this circlet with an arm-ring of the Wolof (Fig. 1), we find the clearly projecting terminal knob (in this case circularly flattened) and the twisted rod, in this case, however, merely cut out as it were -- determined by the different technique of construction. Complete twisting is possible only if the square glowing metal rod is twisted, but not if the ring is poured into a clay mold. This is shown especially clearly in Figure 3. We therefore see here how extensively the technique of manufacture may alter stylistic expression, and one must first "translate back," if relationships are to be established.

W [325]

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An earring of the Tuareg from Air (Fig. 13) is almost identical with the Jaunde specimen. The correspondence extends to the details, for example, the terminal knob and its ornamental decoration (central concentric circles flanked by four smaller circles).

The form of the ornamental decoration gives us a few more quite interesting hints. In this connection, it has already been mentioned that an impression made with punches is involved here. If we disregard the difference in technique, however, we find the greatest similarity in the design and composition of the ornaments in the silver work of the Tuareg (2). In a silver

[For Figs. 7-13, See category 116, P. 10 -- Analyst]

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2. All of the reproductions of Tuareg ornaments were made from drawings

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[98 cont.]

by L. Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna. Dr. Zöhrer made them on his expeditions into Tuareg territory. I sincerely thank Dr. Zöhrer here for his permission to use the illustrations.

head-ornament of a Tuareg soldier from Atakar (Fig. 7) we find correspondences extending almost to details with the design of our foot-ring (Fig. 2). The arrangement of the design on the center rhomboid (raised in both cases) is almost congruent: two small concentric circles in the center, surrounded by a smaller rhomboid, the latter bordered by small, linked, diagonal crosses; emphasis on the four corners of the background, among the Wolof by means of semicircles, among the Tuareg by means of circles. A chest ornament from Air (Fig. 8) is surprisingly similar to the center section of our foot-ring in the way the entire surface is filled out. Moreover, we again find the entire surface bordered by small diagonally-placed crosses. Figure 9, a Tuareg chest ornament of silver from Seken in Ifoghas, shows a characteristic detail of our Wolof ornament: the semicircle filled in with parallel hatching.

On the reverse side of a door latch from Hoggar (Fig. 10) we find very marked agreement with the design on the center section of the Wolof arm-ring in Figure 3: crescents with the convex sides touching, enclosed by hatched triangles along the edge. [99] [Figs. 1-6 appear here.]

[100] Certain similarities with the Wolof arm-ring (Fig. 1), the design of which deviates somewhat from the scheme and yet is in some respects reminiscent of plant motifs -- although purely geometrical -- are found in a chest ornament from Ifoghas (Fig. 11) and a door latch from Ifoghas (Fig. 12).

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The final offshoots of these decorative motifs (concentric circles, hatching, etc.) seem to reach as far as Benin, as is shown by a bronze bracelet (Inv. No. 64,708) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (Fig. 6). Along with certain correspondences in the decorative design, it also has the display

[For Figs. 1-6, see category 116, p. 8--Analyst]

17; Schweeger-Hefel--10 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 ~~Wolof MS30~~
Tuareg MS25

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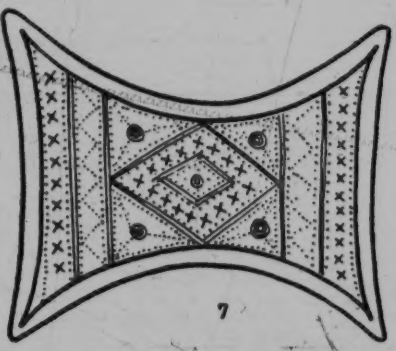

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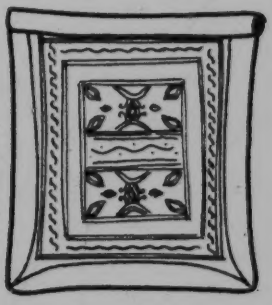

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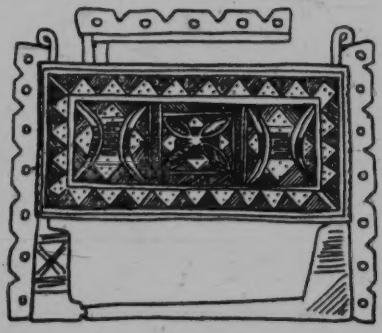

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

17: Schweeger-Hefel--11 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
●Tuareg MS25

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.